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The Autographs of the New Testament in the Light of Recent Discovery

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Inaugural Lecture

By

GEORGE MILLIGAN, D.D.,

Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism
in the University of Glasgow



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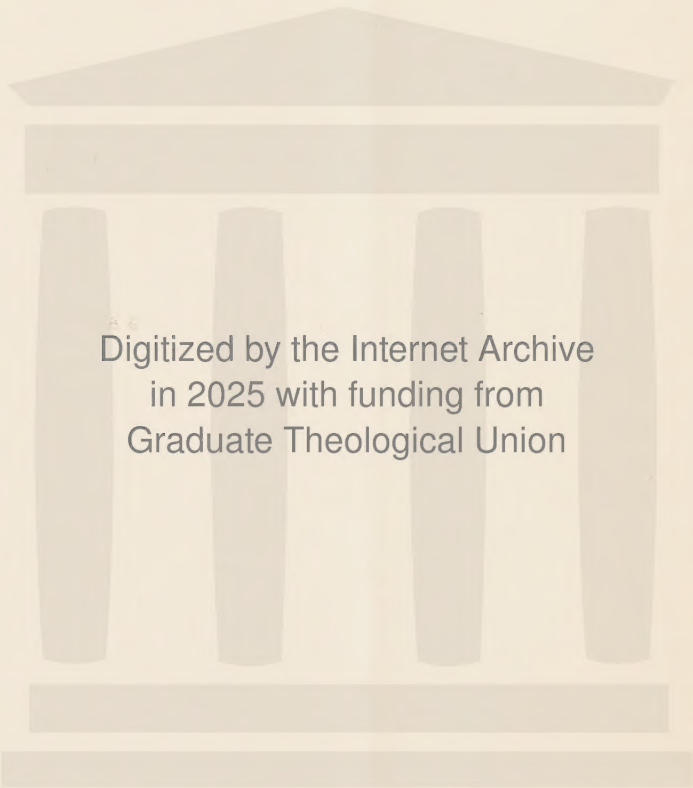


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THE AUTOGRAPHS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERY.

SINCE its foundation this Chair has known only two occupants. For ten years it was held by the late Dr. William P. Dickson, until his transference to the Chair of Divinity; and then, since 1873, for a period of thirty-seven years, a longer period than in recent times has fallen to the lot of any Divinity Professor in Scotland, Dr. William Stewart, still happily with us, has directed the studies and moulded the characters of the long series of students who have passed through his hands. And now that he himself has found it necessary to retire from the active work of the Chair, his labours are continuing to bear fruit throughout the manses and parishes of Scotland. From this point of view, the work of every Divinity Professor is a peculiarly responsible one. And it cannot but be a source of thankfulness and joy to my honoured predecessor that it has been given to him to guard for so long *the true deposit*, and to transmit it unimpaired to those who are now in their turn proving themselves δόκιμοι τραπεζίται—‘proved bankers.’

Nor is it only in his own special sphere that Professor Stewart has made his influence felt. For the same period of years he has filled the arduous and responsible post of Clerk to the Senate. And so closely has he in conse-

quence been identified with the business affairs of the University, so jealously have his efforts been directed to their advancement, that those who have had the privilege of working along with Professor Stewart tell me that the idea of Glasgow University without him is to them almost unthinkable.

It is no easy task therefore that lies before his successor in this Chair. And coming, as I do, a complete stranger to Glasgow on academic grounds, I might well shrink from it were it not that I have already had good reason to learn by experience the generous and kindly welcome which this great city extends to all whose lot in life is cast in it. And it is relying, as I know that I can rely, upon the advice and guidance of my colleagues, and sure, as who would not be sure? of the indulgence which students are always ready to extend to one who is a fellow-student along with themselves, that I venture to take up a work which is not only commended to me by keen personal predilection, but consecrated, if I may say so, by my father's long occupancy of the same Chair in the University of Aberdeen.

The field which this Chair covers, according to its full designation as the Chair of Divinity and Biblical Criticism, is certainly wide enough. Nor is there anything in my commission, so far as I can discover, to prevent my expounding Systematic Theology along with Professor Reid, or introducing you to the Criticism of the Old Testament Scriptures along with Professor Stevenson. But a wise tradition, coupled with a discreet, not to say necessary, prudence on the part of the present occupant, will restrict us to the Exegesis and Interpretation of the New Testament writings. And there we shall find enough,

and more than enough, to occupy our best energies and thoughts.

The burden which is laid upon those who are called to instruct future ministers of the Gospel in the right understanding of the Scriptures of the Truth is at present an anxious one. The old way of looking at the inspiration and authority of the sacred volume has, in many respects, undergone a radical change. New questions have arisen regarding the origin and structure of its several books. And fresh light continues to pour in from many and varied quarters upon its facts and teaching. In keeping with the whole trend of the age, it has come to be increasingly recognized that the New Testament has a history, and that it is only in the light of that history that its contents can be rightly understood. The very reverence which we pay to the New Testament, and the binding character of its claims upon us, demand on our part not only the careful guardianship of its contents, but the unceasing effort to discover both what in itself it really is, and what is the full norm of faith and practice which it reveals. Nothing can be more certain than that in entrusting, as He has done, the records of His Revelation to human agents, and using the same means for their transmission to future ages, God demands a like human diligence and care for their proper understanding. It is true, and cannot be too strongly emphasized at the very outset, that in what concerns the essence of Revelation only the Spirit of God, witnessing with our spirits, can make the word a living word in our hearts. But it is none the less true that, just as it was the sense of the sovereign worth of the different books of Scripture that first led the Early Church to gather them together in

the Sacred Canon, so now, for the same reason, the Church is called upon to devote herself to their interpretation in accordance with the living and growing needs of the age. And in this work of interpretation criticism is an all-important factor. For, so far from indicating any superior or fault-finding attitude, as is sometimes popularly imagined, it is in reality that intellectual process and disposition, that application of truly scientific methods to Biblical study, which can alone make that study fruitful in the best and highest sense.

Upon the general function of criticism I do not, however, mean to dwell further at present. I shall take an early opportunity of returning to it with those who are more immediately concerned in the work of the class. And, in the meantime, I would rather invite your attention to one or two points regarding our New Testament Autographs, on which recent discovery has thrown a welcome light, particularly on the linguistic side.

Questions of language and 'mere grammar' may seem, at first sight, very elementary ones, but only on their proper understanding can the entire superstructure of our future critical studies be raised. And it is just here, at the very outset of our work, that we are met with various questions which have for long been matter of controversy amongst scholars, but which are now, thanks to the new light which has reached us, in a fair way of being finally settled.

By the time the New Testament came to be written, Attic Greek in its original purity had long since disappeared, and its place had been taken by a more cosmopolitan tongue which, having Attic for its basis, had been simplified and popularized, and so adapted for what

was, at the time, practically a world-wide use. For our knowledge of this tongue we have been dependant in the past principally upon its literary memorials, whose writers betray a constant tendency, both conscious and unconscious, to imitate the great models of the classical period. But there have now come into our hands a large number of more popular or vernacular texts in the form of inscriptions, and especially of ostraca and papyri recovered from the sands of Egypt. In these we can see Hellenistic Greek, as it were, in undress, as it was spoken and written by the men and women of the day, with no thought of their words ever reaching the eyes of others than those to whom they were originally addressed. And the striking fact for our present purpose is, that these non-literary texts prove unmistakably that it was in this same colloquial Greek, the *Koinḗ* or common tongue of their day—to limit for convenience a term that is sometimes applied to Hellenistic Greek as a whole—that the writers of the New Testament for the most part composed their books. Themselves sprung from the common people, the disciples of One whom the common people heard gladly, they in their turn wrote in that common tongue to be ‘understood of the people.’

It is no part of my present purpose to labour in detail the proofs which Deissmann and Thumb in Germany, and J. H. Moulton in England, have brought forward to establish this conclusion. Nor is it possible in our limits to attempt any philological discussion of the exact nature of the *Koinḗ*. It must be enough that though it is frequently spoken of as debased, or even as bad, Greek, in itself it marks a distinct stage in the history of the language. Standing midway between classical and modern

Greek, it presents all the marks of a living language, and a language moreover which, though wanting in many of the niceties by which Attic Greek was distinguished, was governed by regular laws of its own. *Τῶν καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν.*

Nor is this all. While in its spoken form this common speech would naturally exhibit marked dialectic differences in view of the wide area over which it was used, these differences tend to disappear in the written texts. The consequence is, that we are able to appeal with confidence to documents, emanating from different countries and different circumstances, in support and illustration of each other on the linguistic side. An Egyptian papyrus-letter and a New Testament Epistle may be widely separated alike by the nationality and habitat of their writers and by their own inherent characters and aims, but both are written in substantially the same Greek.

On the richness of the field of illustration thus opened up in various departments of New Testament study, I shall have something to say directly. But meanwhile it seems necessary to safeguard and limit the conclusion thus reached in one or two directions. In the not unnatural recoil from the old position of treating the Greek of the New Testament as an isolated language, a tendency has shown itself in certain quarters to lose sight of certain distinctive features, by which it is none the less marked, and which, notwithstanding all the linguistic and stylistic parallels that have been discovered, impart a character of their own to the language and form of our New Testament writings.

1. This applies, in the first place, to the over-eagerness which many advocates of the new light display in getting

rid of the 'Hebraisms' or 'Semitisms,' which have hitherto been regarded as a distinguishing feature of the Greek New Testament. That the number of these has been greatly exaggerated in the past, and that there is now ample evidence for regarding many of them as 'true Greek,' I should be amongst the first to admit. When, for example, in a letter of A.D. 41, a man counsels a friend who was in money difficulties—*βλέπε σατὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, 'Beware of the Jews,' apparently as money-lenders, and if so, probably the first reference to them in that character, there is no longer any need of finding a Hebraistic construction in our Lord's warning, Mark xii. 38, *βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων*. Or when, in one of those ordinary notes of social intercourse, of which several specimens have been discovered, a certain Antonius 'invites' (*ἐρωτᾷ*) a friend to dine with him 'at the table of the lord Serapis' (the striking resemblance of the phraseology to 1 Cor. x. 21 can hardly escape notice), it is unnecessary to fall back upon the influence of the Hebrew *לשׂאף* to explain the corresponding usage of *ἐρωτάω* in the Biblical writings.

Even after, however, we have disposed of these and a number of similar instances, it still remains true that it is impossible to remove genuine 'Semitisms' from the New Testament altogether, or to the extent that is sometimes demanded. Why, indeed, should there be any undue anxiety to do so? The presence of a few 'Semitisms' more or less does not prevent our recognizing that the general language of the document in which they occur is Greek, any more than the Scotticisms, into which a North Briton shows himself so ready to fall, exclude the possi-

bility that all the time he is doing his best to talk English. And it is surely wiser to attribute these Semitic-seeming words and constructions at once to their natural source, the more especially when they occur in circumstances which make their presence not only explicable but inevitable.

The mother-tongue of almost all the New Testament writers was Aramaic, and although, in keeping with the general practice of the time, they had learned to use Greek freely as a subsidiary language, their native upbringing would constantly assert itself in the choice of particular words and phrases. In the case of the Evangelists this tendency would be still further encouraged by the fact that not merely Aramaic traditions, but Aramaic documents, lay at the basis of their writings; while even S. Paul, to whom Greek had been all along a second language, constantly shows signs of his Jewish upbringing, if not so much in his vocabulary, then in the arrangement and construction of his sentences. This was due, doubtless, in no small degree to the influence which the translation-Greek of the Septuagint had come to exercise over him. Whatever may have been the case in his earlier years, the Greek Old Testament was undoubtedly the Bible of S. Paul's manhood and ministry, and not only its thoughts but its actual phraseology had passed *in sucum et sanguinem*. What more natural, then, than that when he himself came to write on cognate themes, he should almost unconsciously fall into the same mode of speech, much as a modern preacher or devotional writer is tempted to imitate the archaic English of the Authorized Version.

It is quite possible that too much has been made in the

past of the translation-Greek of the Septuagint, and that its writers by no means betray throughout the literal, almost slavish, following of the Hebrew original that is sometimes alleged against them. Still the fact remains that the Septuagint *is* a translation which bears, though in varying degrees in its different parts, the marks of its source, and which therefore in its turn could not fail to influence the Greek of those who were nurtured upon it.

It is not so easy to determine the exact limits of another consideration which must be kept in view in estimating the 'Semitisms' of the New Testament. We have seen that many of these are disposed of on the ground that they can be paralleled from the Greek papyri found in Egypt. But what, pertinently ask Dr. Swete and others, if these parallels are themselves due to Semitic influence? We know that from an early date there were large numbers of Jewish settlers in Egypt, and these may easily have affected the Greek of the surrounding population.¹ To this it is generally answered that in many instances we can support the papyri by evidence drawn from vernacular inscriptions found in widely distant regions, where it is impossible always to postulate an influential Ghetto, and that even in Egypt, outside the larger cities, there is no evidence of a Jewish element strong enough to affect to the extent demanded the local speech.² The answer may well seem to be conclusive. At the same time, without fuller information than is at present available regarding the position and power of these Jewish colonies, it would be unwise to deny altogether the possibility of some such influence, more par-

¹ Swete, *Apocalypse*, p. cxx.

² Cf. Moulton, *Cambridge Essays*, p. 468 f.

ticularly as exercised on a language which was neither the Jews' nor the Egyptians' native speech, but a medium of communication adopted by both alike, and on that very account more open to modification at the hands of all who used it.¹

2. A second feature of our New Testament writings which is apt to be ignored, or at any rate underestimated, in view of the truly popular Greek in which they are written, is their literary character. I do not of course for a moment mean to suggest that the New Testament is 'Kunstprosa' in the ordinary sense of that term, or that the literary character of its different parts stands on anything like the same footing throughout. At the same time it is impossible to deny to such writers as S. Luke, S. Paul, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a command over the Greek language, and a power in using it, which entitles them to rank amongst great writers, as well as among the greatest thinkers.

In the case of S. Luke we are prepared for this by that instinct for style, which belonged to him in virtue of his Greek birth, as well as by the medical training which enriched his vocabulary with many scientific and quasi-scientific terms. And the same holds true *mutatis mutandis* of S. Paul. That the Apostle of the Gentiles was imbued with Gentile culture to the extent that some of his biographers would have us believe, may well seem doubtful: it is at least not borne out by his vocabulary, which is in the main thoroughly popular. But it is none the less undeniable that S. Paul could when necessary fall back on the philosophic language of his day, and employ

¹ This point is well stated by G. C. Richards in the *Journal for Theological Studies*, 1909, p. 289 f.

it in a manner that would be appreciated by thinking and educated men.

Familiar examples are his uses of *αὐτάρκεια* in its philosophic sense of 'self-sufficiency,' and of *συνείδησις*, 'conscience,' a word which, though not unknown in the Jewish Apocrypha, first gains its full introspective moral importance in the teaching of the Stoics.

Similarly, to pass from vocabulary to form, the fact that S. Paul dictated his letters, and in consequence by the vehemence of his feelings, and his eagerness to find utterance for the thoughts that were pressing upon him, was often led into the anacoloutha and other irregularities which are so characteristic of his style, does not make it the less certain that the different steps in his argument had been anxiously thought out and arranged, and that even the outward form in which that argument was to be conveyed was frequently a matter of serious concern.¹

Blass has probably found few followers in his theory, that in this respect S. Paul was not above making use of 'Asiatic rhythm' for the embellishment of some of his most eloquent passages,² and even the stylistic and rhetorical parallels which Johann Weiss is so fond of discovering may easily be carried too far.³ But the very fact that such suggestions have been made, and made too in such influential quarters, is in itself a proof of the literary tact and skill that the Pauline writings undoubtedly convey. The art may be *τέχνη*

¹ Cf. J. Weiss, *Die Aufgaben d. neutest. Wissenschaft in d. Gegenwart*, p. 34f.

² *Die Rhythmen der asianischen und römischen Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1905).

³ *Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik* (Göttingen, 1897).

ἄτεχνος, as Heinrici well describes it,¹ but it is nevertheless τέχνη.

This same τέχνη is seen still more markedly, I need hardly say, in the Epistle to the Hebrews. And I refer to it now only for the purpose of again emphasizing that even if it stood alone in this matter of artistic form, and we have seen already that it does not, we would still have to admit that with all its 'splendid simplicity and homeliness,' the New Testament contains elements of a distinctively literary character—that it is itself literature.

3. There is still a third consideration that must not be lost sight of in estimating the true character of the New Testament vocabulary, and that is the deepening and enriching which it has received through Christian influences. The common language of the time has been 'baptized' into new conditions; and only by a frank recognition of these conditions can we hope to fix the full connotation of many of our most characteristic New Testament words and phrases.

A familiar example of this is afforded by the word ἀγάπη. It would be going too far to say that the word has been actually 'born within the bosom of revealed religion,' though it is somewhat remarkable that no absolutely clear instance of its use in profane Greek has been discovered;² at the same time it is so characteristic of the Biblical writings, that it may be

¹ *Der litterarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften* (Leipzig, 1908), p. 69.

² The nearest approach of which I am aware is in a Pagan inscription of the Imperial period from Tefeny, in Pisidia, to which Dr. W. H. P. Hatch has recently drawn attention (*J.B.L.* xxvii. 2, pp. 134-6). Two of the letters of the word unfortunately are erased, but the restoration ἀγά[πη]ν seems practically certain.

regarded as peculiar to them in the full sense which they have taught us to ascribe to it. The use of ἀδελφοί, again, to describe the members of a guild, or the 'fellows' of the Serapeum at Memphis, may prepare us for, but does not exhaust, its definite Christian significance. The same may be said of παρουσία, which our new authorities exhibit as a kind of *terminus technicus* to describe the visit of a king or great man. Very suggestive, too, is the light which these throw upon the original associations of such words as ἄγνός, ἀπόστολος, ἐκκλησία, ἐπίσκοπος, θρησκεία, κύριος, λειτουργέω, πρεσβύτερος, and σωτήρ, to name only a few almost at random, but it is certainly not light of a character that enables us to dispense with the light derivable from within the New Testament itself.

It may seem, perhaps, as if all this tends to disparage somewhat the aid we are likely to receive in the work of interpretation from our new sources. But this is very far indeed from being my intention. All that I wish to insist upon is, that in using these sources we must not lose sight of other evidence which has at least an equal right to be heard, and that loss rather than gain will result from calling them in to decide questions which lie outside their distinct province. Within that province, however, their value is undoubted, and will, I am confident, be increasingly recognized as their contents become more generally known and studied. And, if I am not trespassing too long on your indulgence, I should like to indicate one or two directions in which we may look to them for fresh light.

(1) In the matter of text, it may be a disappointment to some that up till now comparatively few Biblical texts of any importance have been recovered. And yet finds

which include third century fragments of the first and fourth Gospels, older therefore than any of our existing MSS., and a MS. containing nearly one-third of the Epistle to the Hebrews from the beginning of the fourth century—to say nothing of such *Paralipomena* as the *Logia* of Jesus and the fragment of the uncanonical Gospel—are by no means to be despised. And who knows what treasures some rubbish-heap or mummy cartonnage may still have in store for us?

Apart altogether, however, from such direct aids, the indirect light which our new documents throw upon the true nature of the New Testament text is often most striking, all the more so, perhaps, because it is so unexpected. Thus we have now ample confirmation of many of the curious spellings found in our best MSS., and can also see how forms and constructions hitherto regarded as very doubtful, if not impossible, were in common use at the time. And if, as is now generally recognized, there is a constant tendency on the part of the later copyists to tone down the so-called ‘vulgarisms’ of the original scribes, it cannot but help us in getting back to the *ipsissima verba* of the autographs to have such abundant evidence in our hands for judging how the common people of the time actually talked and wrote.

(2) The same holds true when we pass from textual criticism to questions of grammar and exegesis. Dr. Moulton has already shown in his brilliant *Prolegomena* what rich results may be looked for in these directions; and no one can read his careful analysis of the use of the cases, or of prepositions, or of tenses in Hellenistic Greek, without realizing how many points even in our best commentaries now need correction and revision.

No longer will it do, for example, to base important doctrinal conclusions—however true in themselves—on syntactical niceties which were no longer observed, or to refuse to find a possible explanation of the amazing solecisms of such a book as the Apocalypse in the writer's familiarity with similar branches of grammar and concord in the ordinary Greek of his day. To put this latter point a little more generally. The absolute indifference of the papyri to symmetrical forms or to unified spelling may in itself be taken as a warning against the almost feverish haste with which a 'redactor,' or later author, is constantly brought in to explain similar phenomena in the different parts of a New Testament book.

(3) This leads me to notice that even in the field of what we are accustomed to describe as Introduction, we have no little cause to be grateful to the new light. No one can remark the innumerable points of resemblance that have been established with the ordinary and undeniably genuine correspondence of the time, without realizing that the case for the authenticity of the New Testament Epistles has been immensely strengthened. Read such a letter, for example, as the well-known Pagan letter of condolence from Oxyrhynchus, where, with reference to a death in the family, the writer says: 'I am much grieved and shed many tears . . . and did everything that was fitting. . . . But still there is nothing one can do in the face of such trouble. So I leave you to comfort yourselves'—and it sounds, as a *Times* reviewer has pointed out, 'like moving the direct negative to the sentiments of 1 Thess. c. 4, and doing it in the same dialect.' While the autographic documents in which the oppressed appeal to the ruling powers for protection, or the prodigal son sobs out

his humble confession of sin, or the perplexed and diseased seek help in dreams or oracles, let us see in the flesh the very men and women to whom the Gospel was first preached.

(4) It is, however, in the lexical field that the chief importance of the new texts will probably be found to consist: and considerable progress has already been made in illustrating their bearing upon the character and significance of our New Testament vocabulary.

Thus the number of so-called New Testament ἁπαξ εἰρημένα, or better ἁπαξ εὐρημένα, has already been largely reduced—Deissmann now estimating them at something like 1 per cent., instead of 15 per cent. of the whole. And the proportion will doubtless be diminished still further as the indices to the collections of inscriptions and papyri are more diligently searched.

The same may be said of the verification these afford to the traditional interpretation of many New Testament words and phrases. No one can turn over the pages of a New Testament lexicon without constantly finding meanings attached to certain words, which are clearly demanded by the context in which they occur, but to which no parallels from our ordinary profane sources can be adduced. It is no small gain, therefore, when with the aid of the new texts we are able to show that these meanings, so far from being peculiar to the New Testament writers, represent the common usage of the time.

Δογεία, as employed by S. Paul for the 'collection' for the poor saints, is a familiar instance. And those who nowadays entertain suspicions as to the purely voluntary character of that widely spread institution will doubtless be pleased to learn that there is also evidence from an

early date that the word was freely used in the sense of *tax*.

In the same way it is impossible any longer to question—notwithstanding the great names that have hitherto been arrayed on the other side—that the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews must at the very least have intended a *play* on the word *διαθήκη* in c. ix., seeing that it is the regular word for ‘will’ in ordinary usage, and would inevitably suggest that meaning to those to whom he first wrote.

It is, indeed, by thus introducing us into the world of *Realien*, and revivifying terms whose exact force we were in danger of losing, that the papyri, perhaps, lend their most valuable aid from a lexical point of view.

It is impossible any longer to doubt that ἀρράβων means not a ‘pledge’ but an ‘earnest,’—a part given in advance of what will be fully bestowed hereafter—when we find a woman who was selling a cow receiving 1000 drachmas of the price agreed upon by way of ἀραβῶνα (P. Par. 58¹⁴ ii./B.C.); the mourning husband’s careful explanation that, as a token of sympathy, he had not washed nor anointed himself for a month during his wife’s absence (P. Oxy. 528, ii./A.D.) throws a curious side-light upon the mention of the hypocrites who ‘disfigure their faces’ that they may be seen of men to fast (Matthew vi. 16), while an unexpected irony is now seen to lurk in our Lord’s condemnation of them—it is not merely ‘they have received their reward,’ but, in accordance with the regular use of ἀπέχω for a receipt, ‘they have given a receipt for it, and therefore can bring forward no further claims’: or, once more, when we find those who ‘checked’ or ‘verified’

an account using the verb ἐπακολουθέω to describe the result, we can understand that more than at once meets the eye underlies the words of [Mark] xvi. 20 τοῦ κυρίου . . . τὸν λόγον βεβαιούντος διὰ τῶν ἐπακολουθούντων σημείων—the signs did not merely accompany or follow, they acted as a kind of authenticating signature to the word.

In a recent magazine article on 'The Egyptian Papyri and the New Testament,'¹ the writer, after indicating sympathetically some of these and similar services which the papyri can render to the sober-minded Biblical student, goes on somewhat inconsequently to rejoice unfeignedly 'that it will not be incumbent on the theological student in future to wade through these tattered heaps, or (what we should relish even less) to be schooled by the Encyclicals of the new "vicars apostolic," the thrall of an elect priesthood of experts who have performed that feat, in order to penetrate the genuine meaning of S. Paul or S. John.'

Modesty might well prevent me from recognizing myself under any such high-sounding titles: but as the charge has been brought, I may be pardoned for expressing the hope that the students who attend this class are not looking forward with any such dire misgivings as to what may be awaiting them here.

Enough has surely been said to show that, while I do not hesitate to come forward as an advocate, a zealous advocate if you like, of the new *Light from the Ancient East*,² I am fully sensible of its limitations. Valuable as

¹ By E. K. Simpson, M.A., in *The Modern Puritan*, July, 1910, p. 251 ff.

² The title adopted for the English translation of Professor Adolf Deissmann's great work *Licht vom Osten*, where a full and fascinating treatment will be found of many of the points raised in this Lecture.

it is in helping us to determine the more external features of the New Testament autographs, it can lead us at best a very little way into the heart of those truths which alone can make us *wise unto salvation*.

The New Testament is more than a book: it is the record of life, of *the life which is life indeed*. And all our study of its words will be in vain, unless they are the means of conducting us to Him Who is the Word. But the more earnestly we devote ourselves to that study with all the best aids which modern discovery and research have placed within our reach, and the more loyally we follow the leading of the Spirit who has been sent to guide us into *all the truth*, the more fully we shall recognize with Origen, the first great Biblical critic, that 'there is not one jot or one tittle written in Scripture, which does not work its own work for those who know how to use the force of the words which have been written.'

